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HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY



SIXTY-NINTH ANNUAL REPORT

FOR THE YEAR
1960

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OF THE

HAWAIIAN
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOR THE YEAR
1960

HONOLULU, HAWAII
PUBLISHED, 1961

The scope of the Hawaiian Historical Society as specified in its charter is "the collection, study, preservation and publication of all material pertaining to the history of Hawaii, Polynesia and the Pacific area."

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THEATRE IN HAWAII—1778-1840

by HELEN P. HOYT

In surveying the earliest theatrical productions in Hawaii, we can do no better than to quote Nathaniel Emerson, the student of the Hawaiian hula, who says that in the hula was "the material . . . which in another nation and under different circumstances, would have gone to the making of its poetry, its drama, its opera, its literature . . . They [the Hawaiians] were children of passion, sensuous . . . How then could their dramatic efforts escape the note of passion?"

The reaction of the early discoverers of Hawaii to the entertainment which the Hawaiians offered them is interesting. Apparently Captain James Cook was not shown a formal hula as entertainment, for he has this to say, "The dances at which they wore feathered capes and cloaks were not seen, but from the motions which they made with their hands on other occasions when they sung, we could form some judgement that they are, in some degree, similar to those we had met with in the southern islands though not executed so skilfully."

Instead, both at Kauai, and later at Kealakekua Bay, the Hawaiians staged mock battles, and displayed feats of athletic prowess and skill for their visitors. They also had boxing and wrestling matches.

What did their visitors do to return this entertainment? Writes Captain Cook, "We displayed in return, the few fireworks we had left."

In March, 1792, Vancouver visited Kauai. One evening in Waimea Bay, he entertained the twelve year old prince of Kauai with fireworks from the deck of the *Discovery*, "to their infinite surprise and admiration . . . which was announced to us by their bursts of acclamation, distinctly heard though at a distance of nearly two miles."

On his third visit, in February, 1794, Vancouver describes an elaborate hula at Kealakekua to which he and his officers were invited. The audience was dressed in its best clothes. Arriving early for the performance, the guests were invited to visit what Vancouver terms "the green room" behind one side of the open square, which was surrounded by houses and trees. Here he found the master of the wardrobe was Kamehameha First, himself, who was advising and correcting the costumes of the dancers.

As the audience assembled, the ladies of rank and their attendants were seated on mats in front of the standing audience. The music for the hula was furnished, by five men, who accompanied their songs by beating on spears held in the left hand with a polished piece of wood held in the right hand.

The dance was in four acts, the first three being enjoyed by Vancouver. He says of the fourth act, "Had the performance finished with the third act, we should have retired from their theatre with a much higher idea of the moral tendency of their drama, than was conveyed by the offensive, libidinous scene exhibited by the ladies in the concluding part."

As soon as it was dark, in return, Vancouver put on a display of fireworks from his ship, Kamehameha himself firing the first two rockets.

The next month, March, 1794, a hula in three acts was staged at Kauai for Vancouver. He writes, "This hula was completely free from the disgusting obscenity exhibited in former entertainments." Again he writes, "In return for the amusement we had derived, we entertained the multitude after it was dark in our way by a display of fireworks, which as usual were received with great surprise and admiration."

There are numerous references in the old traders' and explorers' journals to the Hawaiians entertaining their visitors with sham battles and hulas. Occasionally, in return, the kings or chiefs were invited to dinner aboard ship, and in 1799, Richard Cleveland put on another display of fireworks at Kauai. However, in 1802, when the British trader *Margaret* was off-shore at Kauai, the king of Kauai was entertained in a different way. A sailor danced a horn-pipe to a violin accompaniment for the king's amusement.

The first description of theatre as we know it, is in Archibald Campbell's *A Voyage Round the World in 1806 to 1812*. Campbell, who had both feet frozen after a shipwreck on the coast of Alaska, had been compelled by the onset of gangrene to have them amputated at Kodiak. The Russian ship *Neva* took him to the Sandwich Islands where he hoped to get passage back to England. Left in the care of Kamehameha First, Campbell resided in Honolulu fourteen months, from January 30, 1809, to March 4, 1810, when he was picked up by the British whaler, *Duke of Portland*.

Kamehameha First was trying to build a navy, and every seaman who stayed at Honolulu, and who knew anything at all about shipbuilding, was impressed into the king's service. Campbell worked for Kamehameha as a sail-maker, even manufacturing a loom to weave wider cloth than was available. Another sailor, James Beattie, helped make the wooden blocks, or sheaves (pulleys), through which the ship's rigging was run. Campbell calls him the "king's block-maker." It has been impossible to find out when Beattie arrived in Honolulu. Honolulu's seamen of that date were a constantly fluctuating population: escaped convicts from Botany Bay; deserters from trading vessels, from whalers, from men-of-war; sick men left by their ships, to die or to recover; and a few who left their ships with their captain's consent.

Beattie was a Scotchman who had acted on the stage in London. Campbell says he built a theatre, and we can only guess that it was probably of thatch,

open on the side facing the village green, where hula dances were staged, such as Vancouver describes. The scenery in Beattie's theatre was cut out of tapa and hung up; castles, forests, ships, etc. Apparently several plays were enacted, but Campbell only describes one; a pantomime "Oscar and Malvina" for which Beattie supplied the words from memory. The complete title of the play is "Oscar and Malvina; or the Hall of Fingal, a Heroic Drama, in action or serious pantomime; the Manners, Characters and Incidents taken from the poems of Ossian."

The poems of Ossian were published by James Macpherson as translated from Gaelic literature in 1760-1762. Although Macpherson found his materials in Gaelic literature, the "translations" are considered his own in style and arrangement.

A brief synopsis of the play follows:

First Scene: Oscar and Malvina are betrothed at the Feast of the Shells in the Hall of Fingal.

Second Scene: The scenery represents mountainous country. The villains, Carrol and Draco, and a troop of their warriors descend the mountain. Carrol comes to the castle of Fingal to demand Malvina in marriage.

Third Scene: The Seashore. Oscar is seen chained to a turret of a tower. Malvina and her faithful servant Morven are seized by Carrol. Fingal arrives with his troops. Oscar releases himself from his chains and leaps into the arms of the troops of Fingal. Carrol drags Malvina to the drawbridge and attempts to kill her, but Morven grabs his arm. Malvina plunges a dagger into Carrol's bosom, and he falls into the moat. Oscar and Malvina are reunited.

The Hawaiian wife of Isaac Davis took the part of Malvina, and Campbell says, acted very well, although she could only say "yes" and "no" in English. The warriors were all Hawaiians dressed in tapa cut to represent Fingalian attire. They carried muskets.

The Hawaiian audience was completely bewildered by the play, but as usual in theatre of this period, there was an after-play, a second-run feature, in which Beattie staged a naval engagement. We quote, "The ships were armed with bamboo cannon, and each fired a broadside, by means of a train of thread dipped in salt-petre, which communicated with each gun, after which one of the vessels blue [sic] up." This set the forest, as well as the theatre afire, and created the excitement and interest among the Hawaiian audience which the play itself had failed to do.

There is no other record of theatre for several years unless we recount the theatrical touch which Captain Sowle gave to his landing off Waikiki when he anchored the *Beaver* there in March, 1812. He dressed his marines in full uniform, and had the musicians of the company precede them playing flutes.

It is reported that as the three boats approached shore, the Hawaiians were much impressed with the spectacle.

In 1816 the Russian Kotzebue gives a description of a hula, staged for his entertainment. He says it took place in a square, fenced around with bamboo poles, and that the music was performed by four musicians "who beat with small sticks on a hollow gourd." Three rows of young girls danced, as well as three professional dancers "who go from one island to another." He says it gave him more pleasure than a "skilfully executed European ballet."

In 1825, H. B. M. Frigate *Blonde*, Lord Byron, anchored off Honolulu harbor. She came bearing the bodies of Liholiho, Kamehameha Second, and his queen Kamamalu, dead of measles in London. The pall of the two coffins, covered with red velvet and decorated with gilt handles, hung over the sad Hawaiian retinue on the long, long journey home. Lord Byron attempted to stage some entertainment for his guest passengers. One evening he put on an "exhibition of phantasmagoria," a magic lantern show. The Hawaiians were interested, Boki so much so that he asked Byron to stop the show that some of the pictures might be saved for his friends at Oahu. Byron promised, and true to his promise, after the funeral services were over in Honolulu, arranged to show the pictures on a Saturday evening at Billy Pitt's (Kalaimoku) home. The band from the *Blonde* was to play for the entertainment and everyone was invited. They all assembled, including the boy king, Kauikeaouli, and his sister, Nahienaena. Then word came from the American Mission. A prayer meeting had been announced. The Sabbath began at sunset, Saturday, and the Mission could not approve of such a sinful gathering on the Sabbath. The two children were carried, kicking and screaming, over to the church, accompanied by many of the chiefs. Kaahumanu and Kalaimoku, with some of their retainers, remained to see the show, and were charmed with it.

A few weeks later, when visiting Hilo, Byron again showed his magic lantern, to a "big audience of natives who were greatly surprised and delighted at the changeable figures . . . We also set off some rockets and a paper air balloon, but the latter caught fire almost immediately, and falling on Lord Byron's grass house was near setting it in flames."

From this time on, in spite of the disapproval of the mission, there are several references to small gatherings at different traders' homes to see magic lantern shows.

When the United States naval corvette, *Vincennes*, visited Honolulu in 1829, Charles Samuel Stewart was the chaplain aboard. His first visit to the Sandwich Islands had been as a missionary, arriving in 1823 with the second group. Mrs. Stewart's ill-health made it necessary for him to return to the United States in 1825. Thus when the *Vincennes* lay off Honolulu harbor, Stewart was coming back to a place which he found far different from his

first visit. Perhaps it was his knowledgeable, guiding hand, but Captain Finch of the *Vincennes* put on no theatre—and kept away from all entertainment on Saturday after sundown. There were formal meetings with the boy king and other chiefs, held with pomp and ceremony. There were elaborate luaus. There were prayer meetings at the American mission, and an inspection of schools run by the mission. In return Captain Finch invited the king and chiefs on board the *Vincennes*, including the American missionaries and the foreign residents. The arrival of the king was saluted with guns, the band played, and there was a display of crew and marines discharging the guns as in battle, also of boarding and repelling an enemy. This was followed by an elaborate dinner in the cabin. As darkness fell, the *Vincennes* put on a display of fireworks.

Early in 1821, the hula, especially in Honolulu, "went underground"; although William Ellis describes three rather simple hulas which he saw on Maui and Hawaii in 1823. Of course these were immediately followed by the viewing missionaries' singing hymns, and leading both dancers and the audience in prayers. The American missionaries were trying to offset the religious significance of the hula, and using their influence over Kaahumanu to persuade her to forbid all exhibitions of hula, of sham battles, and of feats of athletic prowess (i.e. boxing, wrestling, and spear throwing). Kite flying was also interdicted at this time. In their sincere desire to teach Christianity and, to them, a more civilized system of morals and culture, the hula was an impediment, embodying the heathen religion and tabus they were attempting to exorcise. The hula was also, at times, libidinous. The exhibitions of sham battles, spear throwing, and other feats of athletic prowess, took hours of practising, which the American missionaries felt the Hawaiians could better spend on learning to read, write, and pray. Many Hawaiian women had spent much time devising kites to be flown in contests. As in all Protestant religions the world over in this period, emerging from the persecutions and venality of churches where religion was clothed in pomp, pageantry, and ceremony in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, all amusements were looked at askance. Life was short, time was better spent in serious pursuits, and the fires of hell, the punishment for a misspent life, were a real and terrible hazard. It was merciful to save souls from such a dreadful fate.

As Kamehameha II grew older, and began to take over a few of the reins of government in 1830, he revived some of the old culture of his race, and there were occasional hula dances and athletic contests. These were limited in scope, and were staged without Kaahumanu's consent. They were not the grand spectacles seen by Vancouver, Kotzebue, and other early visitors. One old trader, who had seen the athletic events of the time of Kamehameha First, laments over the ineptitude of these contests, especially of the spear

throwing, in the 1830's. He complains that the Hawaiians of 1830 have lost the old arts, and no longer have time to practise enough to revive them. However, kites were flying over Honolulu again by January, 1833, and to the discouragement of the missionaries, there was heavy betting on the outcome of these kite-flying contests.

Luaus were the only hospitality the Hawaiians could offer visitors in the period, 1821-1830, except for occasional horse races, on which everyone, except the missionaries, placed bets.

The United States Frigate, *Potomac*, sailed from New York on August 24, 1831, on a trip around the world to show United States might. The main purpose of her voyage was to demand redress for the capture of the United States trader, *Friendship*, and the killing of three of her crew on the western shores of Sumatra, so she carried a full complement of five hundred men. There was an economic depression on the eastern coast of the United States, and among the *Potomac's* crew were a number of indigent actors. They asked permission to form a "Thespian Corps." Faced with a long, monotonous journey, and desiring some entertainment for his crew, Commodore Downes gave his permission.

The "Thespian Corps" first put on several recitations, and part of the tragedy of "Douglas," then very popular in New York. The show went off so well that Downes invited the officials and their ladies at Rio de Janeiro, as well as the officers of other ships in that harbor, to attend a production.

"The quarter deck was dressed out with scenery and flags and other gorgeous drapery." The evening was such a success that a subscription of \$125.00 was raised to buy dresses, material to make scenery, and tapestry for curtains.

With many rehearsals, the "Thespian Corps" worked up quite a repertory of farces, tragedies, and recitations, as well as national and comic songs. To everyone's great amusement, several sailors took female parts, and their attempts to imitate "young lassies" were part of the fun.

Lying off the harbor of Honolulu from July 23 to August 16, 1832, the *Potomac* was entertained by luaus, at which the ship's band furnished music. There was also tea at the American mission.

In return, Commodore Downes invited the king, the chiefs, and chiefesses, the American missionaries, and the traders to an entertainment aboard the *Potomac*. The royal guests came aboard in full uniform, to a salute of twenty-one guns. They were greeted by their hosts in dress uniform. The marine corps went through their manual exercises, the band played, and some Indians from the northwest coast of America, put on an exhibition of Indian dances. The feast is described as "sumptuous."

Kauikeaouli was then nineteen years old. He had heard of the "Thespian Corps." He wanted to see them perform. He offered his palace for a production. The "Thespian Corps" and its assistants took all their scenery ashore and fitted up the palace. With the *Potomac* band playing for intermissions, the tragedy "Douglas" was staged, and as an after-play, a comic character, "Snacks" sang some comic songs, and did some acting. The audience overflowed the palace; the king and his suite attended, and Kauikeaouli was "highly delighted at the efforts of the corps . . . frequently indulging in the most boisterous and immoderate fits of laughter."

Unfortunately, the date chosen by the "Thespian Corps" for their production was August 4, 1832, a Saturday night. On Sunday, the American mission preached a sermon on the evils of play acting.

On September 23, 1832, the ship *Rasselas*, Captain Dominis, master, arrived off port and entered the harbor. She brought a full complement of passengers: Captain John Ebbets, famous Pacific sea-captain for John Jacob Astor; Captain William Sturgis Hinckley and his wife, Charlotte; Thomas Davis Hinckley, younger brother of William; Dr. T. Kemble Thomas, Jr., a medical man whom Hinckley had persuaded to try a practice in Honolulu; Stephen Davis MacIntosh, a clerk to William Hinckley, and a nephew of Mrs. Hinckley; Samuel Andrews Cushing, a cousin of Mrs. Hinckley, and a member of the famous Cushing and Handasyd Perkins families of Boston, who were long-time traders and factors on the China coast; and last, Miss Harriet Davis, a friend and protegee of Mrs. Hinckley's, coming to marry her girlhood sweetheart, Charles Rand Smith, super-cargo of several trading vessels, then in Honolulu harbor.

William Sturgis Hinckley had been in Honolulu as early as 1828 as mate on ships of which his uncles, William and Russel Sturgis, had been captains. Now he was returning to be both sea captain and trader, and to establish his home and store in Honolulu. Belonging to the New England family of William Sturgis, who was a partner in Bryant and Sturgis, the famous Boston commission merchants, he was also son and grandson of the well-known sea captains of the Hinckley family of Barnstable and Hingham on Cape Cod. He had adequate backing in his venture.

The *Rasselas* was loaded with articles for trade: plenty of spirituous liquor and, strangely, books. Mrs. Hinckley, nee Charlotte Illsley Andrews, came from two other wealthy, prominent New England families, the Cushings and the Andrews of Hingham, Massachusetts. A Unitarian, she brought with her letters from James Hunnewell to the American mission.

Led by William Hinckley and Charlotte, this group soon formed the nucleus of a gay, young, partying crowd in Honolulu. For his home, Hinckley rented one of the stone houses in the Catholic premises on Fort Street from

Brother Bondu, carpenter and lay Catholic brother who was in charge. Hinckley made the house over, even adding a second story, and two chimneys to make it look more like New England. Neither chimney worked; they were just stuck on to the roof for looks. The cooking was still done in a cook-house in the back yard. Unfortunately, shortly after the chimneys were placed on the roof, a heavy storm with high winds swept over Honolulu, and they both blew off, and were not re-installed.

Here, in this house, Honolulu's social life centered in the 1830's. And here, on January 17, 1834, these young people established Honolulu's first community theatre, as we interpret "community theatre," naming it "The Oahu Amateur Theatre."

Kauikeaouli, remembering the pleasure he had derived from the *Potomac* presentation, was interested, and offered his palace for the first play which was to be "Raising the Wind." On February 27, 1834, the theatrical company had its first rehearsal at the Hinckley's. On March 4, 1834, Captain Hinckley himself delivered invitational tickets to the community, assigning reserved seats to the chiefs, the traders and "their domestics." One trader reports that Captain Hinckley presented him with Nos. 22 and 23, box. No explanation of the arrangement of seats, etc. is given. On Thursday, March 5, 1834, at 8 p.m., the first production of "Raising the Wind" opened. The palace was packed with a delighted audience. Kauikeaouli himself was there, and helped to stage-manage the show.

The play took place on a Thursday, the group carefully avoiding Saturday night, hoping to propitiate the American mission. But on Sunday, March 9, 1834, young Mr. Diell, chaplain of the Seamen's Bethel, preached a fiery sermon on the evils of the theatre. On March 13, 1834, another play was staged, but we are not told its title, and on Sunday the American mission preached another sermon on the perils of drama. It was becoming an issue between strict Calvinists and liberal Unitarians, for most of this young group were Unitarians.

Either the king was weary of the confusion of Thursday night theatre, or Kinau forbade him to give the use of his palace for dramatic productions banned by the American mission, but from this date the "Oahu Amateur Theatre" staged its plays at Major Warren's Hotel.

Major Warren was Honolulu's first restaurateur. His establishments, both in Honolulu and California, were famous for their excellent cuisine. He gave the use of his large dining room to the "Oahu Amateur Theatre." Major Warren had moved his Honolulu establishment several times, but in 1834 he was located approximately, on the makai-ewa corner of Fort and Beretania Streets, almost opposite the present Catholic Cathedral.

On Thursday, April 3, 1834, the "Oahu Amateur Theatre" performed the

last scene of "Othello"; as the after-piece, "Fortune's Frolic." The audience overflowed the theatre.

But now troubles other than missionary sermons began to plague the group. Segregation reared its ugly head. The white wife of a sea captain was reported to object to sitting next to Hawaiians at the theatre. The "Friends of the Theatre," for that was the official title of the board of directors, met and sent the lady a note. They were sorry, but she would have to stay home if she objected to sitting next to Hawaiians. These were the islands of the Hawaiians, and she was a foreigner. She is reported to have attended every show thereafter!

On May 1, 1834, the last scene of "Hamlet" was performed, and Act II, Scene VII, from "As You Like It" was the second feature. This Shakespearean evening closed with several songs. On May 15, 1834, there was another full house, although the title of the play is unavailable, as it is again on the evening of June 3, 1834. On June 17, 1834, the Oahu Amateur Theatre again put on "Fortune's Frolic," "the Spoiled Child" being the second feature.

A week later a meeting was held in Dr. Thomas's office in The Pagoda by "The Friends of the Theatre." The Pagoda was a two-story building with a look-out on top. It was built by traders William Hinckley and William French. It was located about where Bethel Street enters Merchant Street today. The theatre had accumulated property—and debts. From traders' account books we find they had bought vermilion, canvas for scenery, and two iron standards to hold signs. No mention is made of costumes. At this meeting insurance of \$400.00 was taken out. Then \$300.00 was subscribed by "The Friends of the Theatre" to pay back bills. There is one brief mention of selling tickets for one performance for \$1.50, but usually the invitational list accounted for part of the audience. As for printed programs or tickets, there were none. The only presses in Honolulu in 1834 were owned by the disapproving American mission. All issued tickets were hand written.

On August 5, 1834, "Jeremy Diller" was staged. The British sloop-of-war, *Challenger*, was in port, and a number of officers assisted in the performance.

This production was followed by a very gay party for the actors and the "Friends of the Theatre," a party which lasted until 5 a.m. at Trader William French's home.

The last performance for two years was given in November, 1834. The name of the play is not known. Both Captain and Mrs. Hinckley were away from the islands on the northwest coast of America until late in 1835. Without their leadership the group fell apart.

In January, 1836, the Hinckleys were back, and Stephen MacIntosh, and Samuel Cushing also returned from a visit to the New England coast. Stephen brought his bride, Martha, with him. With them and Samuel Cushing, came Stephen's younger brother James, and two sisters of Charles Rand Smith, who

was now in partnership with Hinckley. Samuel Cushing, a few months after arrival, married Caroline Smith. Thus augmented, the group became active again.

On March 19, 1836, the "Friends of the Theatre" met at Major Warren's Hotel in an effort to revive the "Oahu Amateur Theatre." At this meeting it was decided to canvas the town for subscriptions to build a theatre. To do this, they had to get the king's permission. According to reports around town, as soon as the news of the project became known, representatives of the American mission went to Kinau and expostulated over building a den of iniquity, a theatre. She forbade Kauikeaouli to give his consent to the project, and he acceded to her wishes. The theatre was not built.

However, on October 17, 1836, the group sponsored an evening of instrumental music at the MacIntosh home. This was an adobe building called Oahuena Cottage on Garden Lane, which led off Fort Street, crossed Union Street, and joined Beretania. It was eliminated in the extension of Bishop Street in recent years. The musicians were "gentlemen" from the French naval corvette, *Bonite*, then in port.

On November 14, 1836, there was a brief revival at Warren's Hotel. Assisted by officers from the British sloop-of-war, *Acteon*, the "Oahu Amateur Theatre" produced the "Admired Farce of 'Fortune's Frolic' with numerous songs, comic and sentimental." Tickets were invitational. These were printed; the *Sandwich Island Gazette*, owned by Stephen MacIntosh, was operating.

After this date the "Oahu Amateur Theatre" passed out of existence. In 1837, there is only one reported public entertainment. On his way to Australia, Mr. Thomson, the Sword Eater, gave two performances at Major Warren's Hotel. Tickets—\$2.50, printed by the *Sandwich Island Gazette* press. The "Oahu Amateur Theatre" is not mentioned.

Honolulu was changing. The old traders and the young social set of the 1830's were vanishing. Captain William Hinckley, plagued by debts, auctioned off his store and homes, and moved to California the latter part of 1837, where he joined Nathan Spear and Jacob Leese in their trading store in Monterey. Charlotte went home to Hingham, Massachusetts, in 1838, to renew her acquaintance with the baby son she had left in her sister's care when she had sailed for the Sandwich Islands in 1832. On March 20, 1840, she died in Boston.

Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Cushing sailed for New England in 1838. The MacIntosh family, failing both in business and with their newspaper, left in 1839, and Charles Rand Smith and Harriet with their young son, returned to New England in 1840. Somewhere on the Pacific before rounding Cape Horn, their daughter, Charlotte Hinckley Smith, was born. The older traders either died, emigrated to California, or went back to the Atlantic coast. New

names were seen on Honolulu's trading establishments, and theatre as such vanished from Honolulu's social life for several years.

All of the plays produced by the "Oahu Amateur Theatre" were popular in England and America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and copies are to be found in the famous Theatre Collection of the New York Public Library.

1. *Douglas; or The Noble Shepherd* was a tragedy by the Rev. John Home, and was first produced in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1756. It was revived at the Edinburgh Festival in 1950.

2. *Fortune's Frolic; or The Ploughman Turned Lord* was a farce in two acts by John Till Allingham, and was first performed in 1779.

3. *Jeremy Diller; or Love at First Sight* has no known author. It was produced in the early 1800's.

4. *Raising the Wind; or How to Get Breakfast Without Money* was a farce in two acts by James Kenney, and was first performed in 1803.

5. *The Spoiled Child* is another farce in two acts. Mrs. Dorothy Jordan is supposed to be its dramatist. It was first published in 1792.

Snacks is not a separate play, but is a humorous character taken from *Fortune's Frolic* to sing and dance comic songs and dances. One of the most popular songs sung by *Snacks* which made a great hit with Honolulu audiences in 1834-1837 was "When a man's a little bit poorly." Stephen MacIntosh published the words in the *Sandwich Island Gazette and Journal of Commerce* on December 23, 1837. An old piece of sheet music published by George Willig, Jr. in Baltimore, gives T. Hudson as the poet, and the music arranged for piano forte by J. Blewit. It is undated.

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EVANGELISM IN HAWAII: TITUS COAN AND THE GREAT REVIVAL OF 1837

By ALAN GAVAN DAWS*

The Great Hawaiian Revival of 1837 followed seventeen years of work in the Sandwich Islands by the Congregationalist missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Their first decade of activity had yielded good results. From the beginning in 1820, access to the ruling families had been relatively easy; and if Kamehameha II himself was a broken reed, at least most of the chiefs on Oahu and elsewhere were favorable to the mission and were attended by mission teachers. The most powerful royal supporter the missionaries had was Kaahumanu, the formidable dowager queen who had been instrumental in having the tabu system overthrown in 1819. She became a church member in 1825 and thereafter used her great influence to further the Christian cause. She died in 1832 with the words of a Calvinist hymn on her lips, and her passing marked the beginning of a mild but noticeable reaction against the mission.

Before this, however, the missionaries had made some headway in developing the outward forms of Christianity in the islands. The first orthodox marriages and burials were recorded in the mid-twenties. Christian education in mission schools was believed to be producing a generation of Bible scholars. On a wider scale, the missionaries could measure progress by the islander's adoption of European clothes and material comforts. These advances were made against a background of helpful laws arranged by sympathetic chiefs in 1824. Adultery and prostitution were prohibited by edict in 1825, and at a meeting in Honolulu in July of that year, the principal chiefs and the queen regent agreed to worship God, obey his laws, observe the Sabbath, attend to missionary instruction, and have their people become pupils in mission schools.

The death of Kaahumanu in 1832 was followed by uncertainty and drift; there was now no comparably powerful single figure to assume the regency. In this political hiatus, social laxness made itself apparent. Through the early thirties native pastimes were revived on most of the islands, and school attendance dropped substantially, forcing the missionaries to reconsider their whole educational program. This was also a period of specifically religious disturbance. The landing of a small party of Catholic priests on Oahu in the late eighteen twenties had caused a disproportionate agitation among Protest-

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ant mission workers, and even the eventual expulsion of the priests did not quiet the question completely. On the island of Hawaii, a semi-Christian priestess emerged as the leader of a group which eventually turned Catholic in the late thirties. At Puna in 1837, a native teacher professed to have had a vision, and drew a number of the people of the district after him.¹

There were at the same time forces working within the mission itself to strengthen the position of Christianity during these years of wavering. New contingents had been arriving at intervals during the twenties and thirties to reinforce the original mission family, and with each increase in numerical strength old stations were re-invigorated and new ones opened up. By the end of 1837 there were ninety workers (including twenty-seven ordained ministers) at seventeen stations throughout the islands.²

In 1832, at Waimea on Kauai, missionary Peter Gulick experienced a sudden and unexpected revival of religious interest at his isolated station. Hiram Bingham came from Honolulu to preach with him and assist in the questioning and instruction of enquirers. Excitement continued for several weeks, and after one sermon three hundred "prepared to give themselves to God." Bingham wrote later that one of these "appeared to be seized with convulsions, which I regarded as proving nothing for or against the genuineness of the work. Mr. Gulick noticed, at other times, cases of bodily agitation, among the people, such as trembling, falling down, and loud weeping, which he supposed to be produced by the Spirit of God."³

Nothing comparable happened at other stations further down the island chain; but the annual meeting of 1836 in Honolulu was followed by intense evangelical activity everywhere. There was general concern among the delegates about the world-wide state of Christianity, and lengthy memorials were sent to the A.B.C.F.M. urging greater attention on the mainland to mission work in general and the provision of greater resources for the Sandwich Islands mission in particular. Back at their home stations after the meeting, the missionaries began to hold special services and "protracted meetings." Late in 1836, Titus Coan of Hilo toured his district on foot and for several weeks spoke at crowded and interested meetings. At almost all stations, protracted meetings were held at the turn of the year. On Oahu, for example, preaching teams visited Honolulu, Ewa, Waialua, and Kaneohe successively in a series of six-day meetings, exhorting the natives and holding prayer and enquiry sessions. The station reports for the year ending May, 1837, noted almost uniformly a heightening of religious feeling.

Embryonic revivals occurred at several stations in the middle months of 1837, and interest remained high until November. Then, with startling suddenness, the east coast of Hawaii seemed to take fire. On November 6, Titus Coan began a protracted meeting at Hilo before a congregation of several

hundred. The next day a tidal wave struck the village, taking several lives and causing great damage. From then on his congregations were unique in size and fervor. Coan left this center of enthusiasm to tour Puna in January, 1838, and the contagion spread with him. Concurrently Lorenzo Lyons had been working zealously with his congregations at Waimea, and now he began to achieve results apparently as spectacular as Coan's. Wailuku, on Maui, had also been hit by the tidal wave, and both there and at nearby Lahaina mission meetings took on extreme revivalistic aspects within a matter of days.

No strict sequence of events can be ascertained for the spread of the revival to Oahu, and from the language of missionary letters and station reports it would seem that the violence of feeling which characterized the awakening on the "big island" was present only in a modified form at Honolulu and surrounding stations. Nevertheless, outbursts did occur there from the time of the regular new-year protracted meetings of January, 1838, continuing on Oahu and the remaining islands (Kauai and Molokai) over the next few years. In general, excitement was at its height from November, 1837, to July, 1839, when the arrival of a French warship threw the islands into political confusion. From then on through the early forties, most stations experienced a cooling-off period, punctuated by occasional echoes of the great days of the thirties. Newly-opened stations tended to outlast others in manifestations of excitement. Prolonged revivals had virtually ceased by 1848, the year of a great epidemic. Widespread sickness had a double effect: at some stations it brought about the final extinction of deep religious interest; at others it resulted in a brief resurgence of feeling. A second severe epidemic in 1853-54 all but concluded the revival period over the entire island group. Depopulation had been great; villages were scattered, congregations were decimated, impetus was spent. For six years, the church was in a depressed state. The last half of 1860 witnessed a brief revival, the effects of which were quickly dissipated.

The place from which the awakening impulse of the Great Revival radiated was the district of Hilo on the island of Hawaii; and at the center of the excitement there stood Titus Coan. An examination of his life and thought up to the time of the Revival does much to account for his success as an evangelist; and an examination of his work during the years of his greatest achievement helps to explain the form taken by the Great Revival in Hawaii.

Coan was born at Killingworth, Connecticut, in 1801, the son of solidly religious parents. His father was a sensible and temperate farmer; his mother was Tamza Nettleton, aunt of Asahel Nettleton, the well-known evangelist of the Second Great Awakening in New England. In common with all other young people of his time and place Coan was exposed at an early age to the workings of evangelical Protestantism. After serving a term in the militia, he

came home to Killingworth in the midst of a revival under Nettleton, and saw a hundred and ten of his friends and neighbors accept Christ. Coan's own conversion was still some time away. In the summer of 1826 his brother George was called to the pastorate of a western New York church, at Riga in Monroe County. Titus went out shortly afterwards to take charge of a nearby school. He spent his next two years in this part of the religiously volatile "burned-over district."⁴ He became a Sunday-school superintendent and later a member of his brother's church. Not long after this, he left Riga for Medina, a village west of Albion in Orleans County, where another of his brothers was a merchant. There he worked as a lay preacher, Sunday-school superintendent, and winter-time schoolteacher.

He had been undecided about his life's work; now at the age of twenty-eight, he concluded that he would be happiest and most useful as a lay worker in the church, rather than as a doctor, a schoolteacher or a missionary. He arranged to go back to Connecticut, wind up his affairs there, and return to work with his merchant brother in Medina. He took a canal-boat at Rochester, accompanied by a minister friend with whom he was going to attend the General Sessions of the Presbyterian Church at Philadelphia. Almost immediately he came down with a "shake of ague followed by a fever," which persisted all the way down to Albany and from there to New York. He gave up his idea of going to Philadelphia and instead waited out the course of his disease with friends. "I was . . . so prostrated I could go no further, and was laid at once on a bed of weakness, from which I did not rise for four months. A good physician and kind friends ministered to me daily, but the disease held me fast until I was wasted to a skeleton, so that I could not sit in an easy-chair without fainting till my bed was made. This was a time for reflection."⁵

By the autumn of 1829 he was well enough to be taken home to his father's house, and in October he began schoolteaching again. During the winter there was a revival, the second of his lifetime, in the town of Killingworth and in his school; and it was at this point that Coan made his decision for Christ. It seemed, he wrote later, "like the the voice of God to me. I could no longer doubt. I had purposed and the Lord had disappointed. I had chosen, but He had other work for me."⁶ His conversion had been preceded by physical and mental hardship and travail; when he came to consider his condition at the critical period it was in terms of an immediate and emotion-laden choice to be made between sin and grace; and his achievement of a state of regeneracy expressed itself in a new perception of things.

It is but a little time since I found my sins an oppressive load. My Savior hid his face for a moment. I sought him at twilight, at midnight. I inquired of

*the watchmen. I wandered over the field of truth. I looked, I listened, I fainted. My Beloved spake—my soul melted—I bathed his feet with my tears. I would not let him go till he pardoned and smiled. Do you ask where I found him? In Jer. 3: 19. At first his voice was indistinct, but it arrested my attention. I listened and he spake again. Is this, said I, the voice of my Father? Again the notes became more distinct and tender and earnest. He was inquiring how he should put me among his children. He stated the condition. 'Thou shalt call me my Father, and thou shalt not turn away from me.' My heart responded, 'My Father, my Father, thou art the guide of my youth.' I had read these words before, but I never found and ate them with such relish as now. The condition, 'Thou shalt not turn away from me,' seemed equally precious as the privilege of adoption. I thought I made or renewed an unreserved, an unconditional, cheerful, eternal surrender of myself to God . . ."*⁷

Coan spent the summer of 1830 working with a minister friend in a revival which was in progress at Byron, Rochester, and a number of other New York towns. Here he met the great evangelist Charles Grandison Finney several times. In June, 1831, he entered Auburn Theological Seminary; on April 17, 1833, he was licensed to preach; four months later he embarked as an ordained missionary on an exploratory mission voyage to Patagonia. He came back from this unproductive work in May, 1834, married Fidelia Church of Churchville, and left Boston on December 5, 1834, as a member of a missionary group bound for the Sandwich Islands.

Coan was appointed to labor with missionary David Lyman at Hilo. The two men quickly came to a working agreement: Lyman would handle the mission school, Coan would be an itinerant preacher. His parish consisted of a coastal belt on the east coast of Hawaii a hundred miles long, inhabited during the early thirties by fifteen or sixteen thousand natives. The Lymans had been the only permanent missionaries there before he arrived; and though occasional tours had been made through the outlying districts, and schools had been set up, the condition of society was very little different from what it had been in pre-mission days.

By nature Coan was an extremely ardent man. Love was a driving force in his life: he loved his wife, he loved Christ, and he loved his work. Sometimes these affections were mingled in his thinking. On his second wedding anniversary he wrote to his wife of their joint marriage to "Him whom our souls love." Jesus was their "eternal husband," and Coan looked forward to the time when "we shall feel our union to him consummated and changeless."⁸ Late in life, Coan wrote to a fellow-clergyman about the overwhelming passion of his early Christian love.

When I came to these Islands, and before I could use the Hawaiian language, I often felt as if I should burst with strong desires to speak the word to the

*natives around me. And when my mouth was opened to speak of the love of God in Christ, I felt that the very chords of my heart were wrapped around my hearers, and that some inward power was helping me to draw them in, as the fisherman feels when drawing in his net filled with fishes.*⁹

This "personal magnetism of love" was what endeared him to his hearers. Looking back, S. E. Bishop, who had spent his childhood on Hawaii at the time of the Revival, wrote of Coan wrapping his heart around his young listeners, and "[drawing] us, sweetly and irresistibly, to the love of God in Christ. I, later, came under the stringent intellectual and spiritual force of Finney, and felt the piercing power of the Spirit's sword, in his hands, but have never known a winning power of love in any preacher like that of the spiritual father of our childhood."¹⁰

Coan was able to translate his spiritual ardency into physical energy. His parish was difficult and dangerous to traverse, but he itinerated endlessly. He had a boundless enthusiasm for the practical work of evangelization. At the height of the Revival he wrote to his brother:

*I am pressed above measure with watchings and preachings, and with cares and toil which cannot be told. But the grace of God is sufficient and he sustains me wonderfully. I am preaching almost incessantly, and in my narrow sphere I am determined, through the grace of God, fully to preach the Gospel of Christ. Much of the time I am absent on tours, travelling over burning lava, fording and swimming rapid and dangerous rivers, climbing rugged and slippery precipices, and preaching in doors and out of doors, in wind and rain, sunshine and shade, as the circumstances may be. I am often unavoidably exposed by rains, wet garments, &c. But I am sure that labor, and sometimes hardship even, is the best physic for man. I need not tell you that I am exceedingly joyful in all these labors.*¹¹

Coan's almost mystical conception of love, then, was capable of transformation into a sturdy practicality. His New Testament gentleness and spirituality were also balanced by an Old Testament sense of the power and harshness of a wrathful God. His own writing was full of this classic evangelistic tension, and his greatest triumphs came at a time when God appeared to have acted to force his parishioners to make an immediate choice between suffering the punishments of the Law and grasping the sweet rewards of the Gospel.

When Coan had come to Hilo, church membership had stood at about twenty. By April, 1837, there were eighty-four professed converts who had been received into the church. Coan had made a prolonged tour of his district at the end of 1836, with apparently good results; but in general the people of Hilo remained "hard as a nether millstone." By mid-1837, Coan was becoming impatient for the victory of Christ. "This people are . . . dead

but God can raise them. Is it not *time for him to work?*"¹² Writing to Levi Chamberlain in Honolulu late in October on a business matter, Coan noted a stirring. "State of things interesting here. Sinners anxious. The Word has power. Pray for us."¹³ Just two weeks after this hopeful premonition, God "visited the people in judgment as well as mercy."

On the 7th of November, 1837, at the hour of evening prayers, we were startled by a heavy thud, and a sudden jar of the earth. The sound was like the fall of some vast body upon the beach, and in a few seconds a noise of mingled voices rising for a mile along the shore thrilled us like the wail of doom. Instantly this was followed by a like wail from all the native houses around us. I immediately ran down to the sea, where a scene of wild ruin was spread out before me. The sea, moved by an unseen hand, had all of a sudden risen in a gigantic wave, and this wave, rushing in with the speed of a race-horse, had fallen upon the shore, sweeping everything not more than fifteen or twenty feet above high-water mark into indiscriminate ruin. Houses, furniture, calabashes, fuel, timber, canoes, food, clothing, everything floated wild upon the flood. About two hundred people, from the old man and woman of three-score years and ten, to the new-born infant, stripped of their earthly all, were struggling in the tumultuous waves. So sudden and unexpected was the catastrophe, that the people along the shore were literally "eating and drinking," and they "knew not, until the flood came and swept them all away." The harbor was full of strugglers calling for help, while frantic parents and children, wives and husbands ran to and fro along the beach, calling for their lost ones. As wave after wave came in and retired, the strugglers were brought near the shore, where the more vigorous landed with desperate efforts and the weaker and exhausted were carried back upon the retreating wave, some to sink and rise no more till the noise of judgment wakes them. . . . Had this catastrophe occurred at midnight when all were asleep, hundreds of lives would undoubtedly have been lost. Through the great mercy of God, only thirteen were drowned.

*This event, falling as it did like a bolt of thunder from a clear sky, greatly impressed the people. It was as the voice of God speaking to them out of heaven, "Be ye also ready."*¹⁴

After this, meetings at Hilo became more and more crowded, and hopeful converts were multiplied. The village became a metropolis. Whole areas in the outlying districts were deserted, and at times during 1838 the number of people encamped around Hilo reached ten thousand. Coan's congregations were doubled, and from the end of November on he preached daily. By the end of April, 1838, he had held six protracted meetings in Hilo and Puna, and had received 639 converts to the church. Fifteen hundred more stood pro-pounded for admission.¹⁵

A few weeks after the tidal wave Coan toured Puna, and the excitement he provoked there matched the demonstrations which had occurred at Hilo. From then on for two years his life was an unceasing round of itineration and preaching crowned with immense success. Five thousand, two hundred and forty-four new members were admitted to the church between April, 1838, and April, 1839, and a further 1,499 during the next twelve months. On the first Sabbath of July, 1838, 1,075 converts were baptised on the "day of days" in the history of the Hilo church.

Like many great evangelists, Coan saw his work as a tremendous battle. He used to wait, before preaching, for the assembling of the "Sacramental host" and for the "mustering of the troops of hell in order to bring on a general engagement, and once more to test 'the weapons of our warfare.' " His principal ally was a military God, "whose arm is omnipotent [sic], and whose voice is thunder . . . whose eyes are as a flame of fire and whose spear gleams lightning; . . . who judges and makes war in righteousness."¹⁶ It was always "Jehovah's hammer," or "the battle-ax of the Lord," or "the arrows of the Almighty," which "broke sinners down"; and to be brought to the point of repentance was to be "slain of the Lord."

Amid this toil and struggle Coan found his greatest satisfactions. It was love of "privation and pain" almost equally with love of souls which pushed him on. "O, the tug of battle; the watchings, the fightings, the toils . . . But I love the struggle and God helps me wonderfully. I want to fight on till I die. I wish to die in the field with armor on, with weapons bright."¹⁷

Coan's means to success were very similar to those used by other great evangelists from the time of John Wesley and George Whitefield in the eighteenth century. He had seen in New England "great and powerful awakenings under the preachings of Nettleton and Finney" and he found that "like doctrines, prayers and efforts seemed to produce like fruits" in Hawaii.

His own conversion had been preceded by spiritual torment and followed by blessed release; and now he preached "terror" to sinners and "consolation" to the saved on Hawaii. This was "the most bold and searching and simple truth which I could present to their minds."¹⁸ For two years it was a common thing for him to reduce whole congregations to weeping, wailing, and falling. His hearers came to sense the terrible presence of God so strongly that they quivered in every muscle, or wailed in "tremendous throes" like a "dying giant," or broke down with an "earthquake shock." Sometimes the fallen lay "groaning on the ground for 15 minutes or ½ an hour after the fight was done."¹⁹

At the time of the Revival, every sermon he preached was eagerly anticipated; and at Hilo the big meeting-house had to be carefully prepared to seat the great crowds. Skilled men were employed to have the people stand

in "compact rows as tight as it was possible to crowd them, the men and the women being separated, and when the house was thus filled with these compacted ranks, the word was given them to *sit down*, which they did, a mass of living humanity, such perhaps as was never seen except on Hawaii."²⁰ The same excitement preceded his visits to outlying villages. Sometimes church members would go out ahead to bring in sinners to hear the sermon, and very often the congregation would be waiting for him in perfect order. It was such a "sea of faces" or "forest of heads" or "field of wheat just ready for the sickle" which produced the greatest numbers of weepers, prayers, fainters, and fallers.

*I arrived [at Hakalau] yesterday at 8 a.m. Found a large company of children collected . . . in the met. house, besides several hundreds of adults. I was a little weary, but I felt the Spirit break upon my heart; so I went right in among the children and fell upon my knees and looked up to Heaven. The H. Ghost fell instantly, so soon as I opened my mouth. The place was shaken. The congregation was all in tears, and there was such a crying out as I had not heard before.*²¹

Coan was convinced from the very beginning that the Revival was a valid and glorious work of the Spirit. He affirmed the value of physical manifestations. "Whatever others may say, I know and feel that such cries are tokens of the Spirit."²² He was conscious that both his methods and his results would appear like "Methodism" or "fanaticism" to outsiders, and indeed he, along with Lorenzo Lyons of Waimea, came in for strong criticism from some of the more conservative Sandwich Islands missionaries and the home members of the A.B.C.F.M. Lyons, whose station and district adjoined Coan's on the coast of Hawaii, had worked among his fifteen thousand parishioners since 1832. He was an expert in the Hawaiian language and a skilled and prolific composer of hymns. Physically frail, he responded sensitively and emotionally to religious experience; and he shared with Coan a sort of febrile exaltation at the great happenings of 1837 and the next few years. From the beginning of their association the two men corresponded regularly; and they frequently compared notes during the Great Revival.

The conservative attack on Coan and Lyons concerned two main questions: the means used to produce so-called conversions, and the speed with which converts were admitted to church membership. Hiram Bingham had been noncommittal about the physical manifestations he saw on Kauai in 1832, and he remained indifferent to them throughout the Great Revival. Sheldon Dibble, writing just a few years after the subsidence of the initial excitement, spoke of pastors whose "excited minds" and "peculiar views" led them to use "special measures to operate upon the feelings of a congregation." Praying aloud by members of the audience, audible groans and loud cries,

shrieks and lamentations, were part of a pattern of dubious special measures operating in an "uncontrollable state of tumultuous feeling."²³ Dwight Baldwin, a medical man and a most cautious evangelist, whose station at Lahaina on Maui had been among the earliest to experience revival symptoms, made a clear distinction between outward signs and inward feeling. By August, 1838, he noted, initial excitement had died down. There was less running to the mountains and bushes to pray, but the "real feeling" had not diminished. A protracted meeting in September, 1838, produced a great deal of "public exercise," but he found himself unable to tell what good had come of it.²⁴

The church membership policy of Coan and Lyons worried the remainder of the mission and the A.B.C.F.M. greatly. In roughly six months between the outbreak of the revival and the end of the missionary year in May, 1838, Coan admitted 639 new members and Lyons 2,600. Their two stations together accounted for 3,239 of 4,930 admissions for the year 1837-1838. Over the next year, Coan admitted 5,244 and Lyons 2,300. Figures for other stations were higher in this year, because excitement had reached all the islands by then, but even so Hilo and Waimea together had seventy-five per cent of Hawaiian church membership. During the early forties Coan's church was probably the biggest in the world. By May, 1843, he had admitted a total of 8,221, and of these, 6,373 remained in good standing.

The first mass admissions on Hawaii brought reductive comments from missionaries in other places. Dwight Baldwin, writing to Honolulu in January, 1838, hoped that "the blessing of God will rest on your meeting—but don't take 500 into the chr. the next day after it closes. The good Lord deliver us from chaff & make us wise to read the chr. of Hawaiian children! I thought all this mission were sufficiently awake and wise to know, that it were well to look the 2nd day at the converts among this people."²⁵ The missionaries, meeting together in mid-1839 as the Hawaiian Association, jointly recognized the possibility of error in assessing the sincerity of native converts, and admitted the probability that a few mission members had in fact erred. They advocated great watchfulness both before and after admission.²⁶

The official response of the A.B.C.F.M. to the news of the revival and the growth in church membership approached a blanket condemnation. Secretary Rufus Anderson found arguments against speedy admissions in

the almost total want of moral and intellectual culture among the Hawaiian converts, and in the absence of all dread of persecution on making a profession of religion, to say nothing of the inferior power of discerning spirits in missionaries of the present day compared with that conferred upon the apostles . . . One thing is certain; if the practice of admitting apparent converts so speedily and on such slight evidence becomes extensive in your churches, we can no

*longer appeal with any confidence to the number of church members as one of the sure evidences of the progress of the mission.*²⁷

Soon after criticism became widespread, Coan wrote to Lyons: "You say there will be noise where there is fighting and conquering. This is true, and there will be much noise before the world is converted to God." This did not worry Coan. ". . . I have little fear of the noise of praying Christians and wailing sinners, if so be the wailing is confined to time. In eternity it will roll up in fearful and augmenting notes for ever and ever. The most dangerous noise in a revival springs up, not, perhaps, from the devil, nor from scoffers and open opposers, but from false or timid, or dictatorial friends." Here Coan was taking much the same ground as some of the greatest evangelists of the previous hundred years who seemed almost to reserve their harshest language and bitterest resentment not for sinners but for conservative members of their own and similar groups. Just as John Wesley came to call the Moravian Brethren "German wolves," just as George Whitfield flayed New England Protestants for cold formalism in the face of the First Great Awakening, so Coan railed against "unbelief, reason, and . . . caution," criticized "gain-sayers," affirmed his love for the "battlefield, . . . where the darts of skepticism do not reach me," and gloried in the typically sectarian thought that weak, base, and despised things had been raised to confound the mighty. At his most agitated Coan described American mainland unbelief as "that cruel, soul-murdering Monster," and responded to his mission brethren's criticism by calling it "the devil's work." He said he was surrounded by so much calumny that he would have to spend all his time correcting wrong impressions if he wished to clear himself; meanwhile a tour of his district had given him the most unequivocal tokens of God's presence. Thus, fervor, zeal, and self-righteous conviction combined, as they had done in earlier times, to push a great evangelist into a position of almost complete spiritual isolation from his clerical brethren.²⁸

Coan found ample justification for his policies in the urgency of the situation in the islands. He felt strongly that to leave people outside the protection of the church in the name of caution was to abandon them to "wander in darkness, uncertain as to their own character, exposed to every temptation of earth and hell, unknown and unrecognized as the sheep and lambs of the Lord Jesus, and in danger from the all-devouring lion."²⁹ The knowledge of so many thousands still unconverted tormented him, and he feared that he might die before the task was accomplished. There is more than a trace of egotism in his assumption of the whole burden of evangelization, contrary to his literary descriptions of himself as a weak and humble thing, but consistent with his self-confidence in asserting the rectitude of his own position against that of the remainder of the mission. Where Rufus

Anderson could find no analogy in past church history for the practices of the Hawaiian revivalists, Coan for his part could find nothing in "Scripture, nor philosophy, nor prudence" to justify *slow* admission.³⁰

Lyons agreed with Coan on all these points. He insisted on his right to follow his own observations and experience "though everybody else were against me—I have the bible also on my side."³¹ However, he differed from Coan in one important respect. Coan had an elaborate follow-up system worked out for keeping a check on his converts and new members.³² His sense of personal responsibility for his parishioners was not shared by Lyons, who tended to abdicate in favor of God once he had brought sinners into the church. Lyons had a tendency toward millenniumism, and one expression of this was that he could be less deeply concerned than Coan about attacks on his methods. He bristled, to be sure, but fell back on the defense that the final truth was not for him or anyone else to know. He could only use his judgment, until he was proved right on "the last day . . . to which we are all rapidly hastening."³³

It may have been that this conviction that God would carry out the definitive winnowing of the church led Lyons to admit new members too freely and too quickly; or it may have been that he was led to imitate Coan's example although conditions in his district did not warrant it. In any event his church, alone in the island group, underwent tremendous fluctuations in membership in a very few years. Reporting in May, 1839, he listed 2,300 as received in the past twelve months, 4,474 in regular standing, and 250 under church censure for adultery, smoking, quarreling, lying, stupidity, and neglect of meetings. His report of May, 1840, showed a tremendous leap in suspensions and excommunications—2,016, making a total over the years of 3,404. In the same twelve months he had admitted after examination only 419 new members. In the year ending June, 1841, he admitted only 40 new members; and in the same twelve months 697 were suspended and 1,189 excommunicated. Total admissions to that point were 5,366; total excommunications were 2,790; the number of members remaining in good standing was 1,197. Over the next ten years, it should be noted, hundreds of these backsliders and apostates were received back into the church, with apparently satisfactory results.

If the history of the Waimea church seemed to prove the conservative point completely, Hilo refuted it. Coan's great congregations continued into the early forties, and his losses over less propitious periods were not appreciably greater, proportionately speaking, than those of stations where conservative ministers worked.

The revival petered out at different times in different places. Lyons' troubled period began in earnest late in 1840 when he came back to Waimea

after a month-long absence to find things "deranged," and the devil raging "at a most alarming rate." From then on, as he put it, the Lord was purifying and scattering rather than convicting, converting, and gathering. As it turned out, the years ahead of him were to produce nothing more than an occasional harking back to the events of the late thirties. Coan, returning from the 1840 General Meeting in Honolulu, found tares sown in Puna. There was moral lethargy, and some were wandering from the "path of life." In common with Lyons, he noted a tendency for the people to "choose Masters"—to line up permanently either for good or for evil.³⁴ In general, Coan and many others noted about this time that the fervor of "animal excitement" was disappearing naturally and that the novelty of evangelical practices was wearing off.

There were, moreover, several proximate factors, some operating throughout the islands, some at individual stations, which helped to put an end to the revival. The most important of these have already been mentioned—the coming of a French warship to the islands in 1839 and the subsequent political upheavals which culminated in the seizure of the islands by a British naval officer in 1843; the re-arrival of French priests in the late thirties and the spread of Catholicism in many mission districts in the early forties; and so on. It could be said in general terms that the early years of the revival were also the years of the greatest missionary influence in Hawaiian government. Men like William Richards and Gerrit Judd, working directly for the monarchy, were in an unsurpassable position to keep the minds of the chiefs upon mission matters; and the chiefs remained at this time tremendously important as guides and shapers of the lives and attitudes of the commoners. By the mid-forties, Kamehameha III's advisers were not solely mission-oriented: Robert Crichton Wyllie, minister of foreign relations from 1845 on; John Ricord, attorney general from 1844; and Chief Justice William Lee, for example, fell in this new category.

On Hawaii, mission work was disrupted for months in 1840 by the landing of the American Pacific exploring expedition under Charles Wilkes. Native labor was co-opted for strenuous and prolonged work, and the single-minded attention to religion which the missionaries had cultivated was diverted to secular matters. Later in the forties, as has also been noted, the great epidemic further weakened churches in most places; and shortly after that again, the great demand for food and island produce which accompanied the California gold rushes led many islanders away from church concerns.

In this later period, it seemed, the reputation of the revivalist wing of the Sandwich Islands mission stood higher than it had done during the Revival itself. At any rate, station reports were careful to note any encouraging signs

of revivalistic fervor. Actual enthusiasm had produced censoriousness and friction; enthusiasm in retrospect and prospect seemed desirable.

The 1860 annual meeting of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association deputed Titus Coan of Hilo and Benjamin Parker of Kaneohe to tour Oahu and report on the needs of the various stations. A few months previously (about October, 1859) Kaneohe had experienced a small resurgence of enthusiastic feeling, brought on, as Parker said, by a series of morning meetings and some "remarkable deaths." Fresh from this, Parker accompanied the evangelistic hero of Hawaii on an itineration which covered all the mission districts of Oahu. The tour produced "marked indications" of the presence of the Holy Spirit at Honolulu, "unequivocal evidence of a revival" at Ewa, and similar manifestations elsewhere. The prevailing mood was one of restraint, and yet church admissions and restoration of backsliders rose to their highest point on Oahu since 1839.

Once again Titus Coan had been at the center of widening ripples of enthusiasm. He reported a "gentle revival" at Hilo after his return home, as did most of the other missionaries on Hawaii. Several districts on Maui and Kauai also went through a period of deep feeling a few months after Oahu was affected. Oahu, however, was the only island where the church gained significant numbers of new and returned members, and even there the revival spirit was quick to fade. Station reports and statistics covering the next two years indicated an almost total reversion to the depressed conditions of the late fifties.³⁵

NOTES

¹ Coan to Fidelia Coan, August 29, 1837, in Coan Letters, 1836-1845, on microfilm in University of Hawaii library. Original in New York Historical Society Library. Hereafter cited as Coan Letters, N.Y.H.S.

² Principal stations were established in this order up to and including the time of the Great Revival: Kauai—Waimea (1820), Koloa (1834), Waioli (1834); Oahu—Honolulu (1820—split into two churches 1837), Waialua (1832), Kaneohe (1834), Ewa (1834), Punahou (1841); Molokai—Kaluahaha (1832); Maui—Lahaina (1823), Lahainaluna (1831), Wailuku (1832), Haiku (1834), Hana (1837); Hawaii—Kailua (1820), Hilo (1824), Kaawaloa (1824), Waimea (1832), Kohala (1837), Kealahou (1840), Waiohinu (1841).

³ Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands; or, the Civil, Religious, and Political History of Those Islands: Comprising a Particular View of the Missionary Operations Connected with the Introduction and Progress of Christianity and Civilization among the Hawaiian People* (Hartford, 1847), pp. 442 ff.

⁴ See Whitney Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca, 1950), for a detailed discussion of the dynamic religious life of the area.

⁵ Titus Coan *Life in Hawaii: An Autobiographic Sketch of Mission Life and Labors 1835-1881* (New York, 1882), p. 13.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁷ Coan to Fidelia Church, December, 1832, in Lydia Bingham Coan, *Titus Coan: A Memorial* (Chicago, 1884), pp. 7-8.

⁸ Coan to Fidelia Coan, November 3, 1836, in Coan Letters, N.Y.H.S.

⁹ Coan to S. E. Bishop, December 24, 1881, in Lydia Bingham Coan, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

See also Coan to Fidelia Coan, August 8, 1841, in Coan Letters, N.Y.H.S.

¹⁰ S. E. Bishop in Lydia Bingham Coan, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-223.

¹¹ Coan to Ezra Coan, October 15, 1839, in Lydia Bingham Coan, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

¹² Coan to Fidelia Coan, August 29, 1837, in Coan Letters, N.Y.H.S.

¹³ Coan to Chamberlain, October 23, 1837, MS in the library of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, Honolulu. Hereafter cited as Coan Letters, H.M.C.S.

¹⁴ Titus Coan, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-53.

¹⁵ Hilo Station Report for the year ending April 30, 1838, MS in the library of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society. Hereafter cited as Station Reports, H.M.C.S.

¹⁶ Coan to Fidelia Coan, March 16, 1839, in Coan Letters, N.Y.H.S.

¹⁷ Coan to Lorenzo Lyons, September 9, 1838, in Lydia Bingham Coan, *op. cit.*, p. 47. See also Coan to Fidelia Coan, October 23, 1838; and August 8, 1841; in Coan Letters N.Y.H.S.

¹⁸ See Titus Coan, *op. cit.*, p. 49; Coan to Lorenzo Lyons, January 25, 1838 in Lydia Bingham Coan, *op. cit.*, p. 44; Coan to Fidelia Coan, March 18, 1838, in Coan Letters, N.Y.H.S.

¹⁹ Coan to Fidelia Coan, March 9, 1838; March 18, 1838; March 16, 1839, in Coan Letters, N.Y.H.S.

²⁰ Titus Coan, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

²¹ Coan to Fidelia Coan, March 11, 1838, in Coan Letters, N.Y.H.S.

²² Coan to Fidelia Coan, December 14, 1839, in Coan Letters, N.Y.H.S.

²³ Sheldon Dibble, *History of the Sandwich Islands* (Lahainaluna, 1843), pp. 348-349.

²⁴ Baldwin to Levi Chamberlain, August 6, 1838; September 22, 1838, MS in Hawaiian Mission Children's Library, Honolulu. Hereafter cited as Baldwin Letters, H.M.C.S.

²⁵ Baldwin to Levi Chamberlain or Samuel Castle, January 9, 1838, in Baldwin Letters, H.M.C.S.

²⁶ *Minutes of General Meetings of the Hawaiian Association, 1825-1853* (Honolulu, n.d.), pp. 34-35 of 1839 meeting.

²⁷ Rufus Anderson to the Sandwich Islands Mission, October 2, 1838, in *General Letters to the Sandwich Islands Mission, 1831-1849* (n.p.).

²⁸ Coan to Fidelia Coan, August 20, 1838; October 23, 1838; May 15, 1839, in Coan Letters, N.Y.H.S.; Coan to Lorenzo Lyons, December 25, 1837; February 25, 1839, in Lydia Bingham Coan, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 49.

²⁹ Coan in 1840 *Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston, 1840).

³⁰ Coan to Lorenzo Lyons, January 25, 1838, in Lydia Bingham Coan, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

³¹ Lyons to Levi Chamberlain, January 17, 1838, MS in Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu. Hereafter cited as Lyons Letters, H.M.C.S.

³² This system is described in detail in his *Life in Hawaii*, previously cited, pp. 55 ff.

³³ Lyons to Levi Chamberlain, January 17, 1838, Lyons Letters, H.M.C.S.

³⁴ Lyons to Edwin Hall, December 8, 1840, in Lyons Letters, H.M.C.S.; Coan in Hilo Station Report, 1840-41, H.M.C.S.

³⁵ Station Reports are incomplete for this period, but a general picture of the 1860 "revival" may be seen in the *Minutes* of the 1861 meeting of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association.

MINUTES OF THE 69TH ANNUAL MEETING

January 19, 1961

The annual meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held at MacNeil Hall, Punahou School, on Thursday evening, January 19, 1961, at 8 o'clock. President Harold W. Kent presided. The reading of the minutes of the last annual meeting was waived as they had been printed in the last annual report. The Librarian, Mrs. W. C. Handy, filed her report, which will be printed. The Treasurer, Norris Potter, gave a summary of his report and filed the complete report. It was moved and seconded to accept the reports. Motion carried. The President read his report on activities during the past year. A copy is attached to these minutes.

Miss Loraine Kuck, chairman of the nominating committee, submitted the following persons for election to office for 1961:

President (for 1 year)—Harold W. Kent

Trustees (for 2 years)—Miss Janet Bell, Dr. Charles Hunter,
Mr. J. C. Earle, and Mr. Meiric Dutton

Trustees (holdover) —Miss Bernice Judd, Miss Marion Morse,
Miss Agnes Conrad, and Mrs. Richard
L. Summers

The report was adopted and the Secretary was instructed to cast a unanimous ballot for the election of the officers nominated by the committee.

The meeting was turned over to the Program Chairman, Dr. Willard Wilson, who introduced the speakers. Mr. Alan Daws read a paper on "Titus Coan and the Great Revival" and Mrs. Simes T. Hoyt read one on "Theatre in Hawaii, 1778-1840."

A social hour followed, during which punch and cookies were served.

Respectfully submitted,

AGNES C. CONRAD

Recording Secretary

MEETING OF OCTOBER 6, 1960

The Hawaiian Historical Society held a general meeting on Thursday evening, October 6, 1960, at the Mission Historical Library. In the absence of the President, Agnes Conrad, Recording Secretary, presided.

The following resolution was introduced and unanimously adopted by the Society:

"WHEREAS, on the ninth day of September, 1960, JOHN FRANCIS GRAY STOKES, faithful member of the Hawaiian Historical Society, died at the age of eighty-four years; and

"WHEREAS, he had been a member of this Society continuously from 1902, and had served at various times as Vice-President and Corresponding Secretary, and as a member of the Editorial and Printing Committee, the Library Committee, and the Additional Board of Managers; and

"WHEREAS, he contributed articles on the early history of the Hawaiian people and their chiefs to the Society—six in its Annual Reports and five in its Papers; and

"WHEREAS, by his passing, the Hawaiian Historical Society has lost its longest supporting member and one of its most contributive research workers; now, therefore,

"BE IT RESOLVED that the Hawaiian Historical Society, assembled at its meeting of October 6th, 1960, hereby expresses its esteem for JOHN FRANCIS GRAY STOKES and its regret at his passing; and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Corresponding Secretary present a copy of this resolution to his bereaved widow as an expression of the sympathy of its members, and that the said resolution be spread on the minutes of the meeting."

Dr. Willard Wilson, Program Chairman, presented the speakers of the evening, Mrs. Emma Lyons Doyle and Judge Clifton H. Tracy, who reminisced informally on Hawaii at the turn of the century.

Refreshments were served.

Respectfully submitted,
AGNES C. CONRAD
Recording Secretary

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

TO THE MEMBERS OF
THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

The Hawaiian Historical Society on December 31 last, completed its sixty-ninth year of service to its members and friends. In many ways it was a year of interesting development. The broad aspects of growth include a greatly enlarged membership, a strengthening of the financial base of the Society, and the extension of the publication program. The reports of the treasurer and the librarian will be printed in the annual report for 1960 and will give more adequate evidence of the growth alluded to in this opening statement.

Many interesting items of business were transacted during 1960. The constitution and by-laws were changed slightly; the loan collection receiving policy statement was carefully written out so that we now have a standard operating procedure for handling loan collections. A resolution went to the Governor regarding the preservation of Iolani Palace and Iolani Barracks as state monuments. The Smithsonian Institution reminded us that they had not had a communication or an annual report from us since 1915; this situation was hastily and somewhat embarrassedly corrected.

A campaign for special operating funds was entered into with kamaaina business agencies, the results of which are covered in the financial report. The relationship, or perhaps we should say the distinction between the Hawaiian Historical Society Library and that of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society was discussed, even to the point of changing the name of the Hawaiian Historical Society. This was not done. However, we wound up this particular discussion by having distinctive signs made which may be seen, each on top of the proper card catalog file in the Historical Society room.

In publications, two were actually issued. One was the annual report for 1959, which included the papers on "Walter Murray Gibson's Filibuster" and the "Madras Case." The other was the privately printed biography of Samuel Northrup Castle under the sponsorship of the Historical Society.

The committee work was especially interesting. The program committee under Willard Wilson presented an evening of reminiscence in October, which was very well received. The membership committee has about doubled the membership over last year. Up to the time of the campaign, the number was 255; and Mrs. Handy reports that as a result of the campaign, the Society as of today has 45 life members, 9 sustaining members, 67 contributing and 374 regular members for a total of 495. This does just about double our list.

The John Wright essay contest, which started out as a phase of the membership campaign, has in a sense gone off on its own mission and as far as is known at this writing, is creating quite a bit of interest among high school age potential writers of history.

The board of trustees added a new corporate or corporation membership to the types of membership available.

Certainly our good secretary, Miss Conrad, and our librarian, Mrs. Handy, and others including Mrs. Agnes Bickerton, Mrs. John M. Lind, Miss Carey Miller, Miss Janet Bell and her mother, Miss Sara Woodyard, Miss Adeline Wright and students of The Kamehameha School for Girls, Robert Van Dyke, Miss Nell Moore, and Mrs. Curtis Cluff, should be commended for their work on the membership committee, and the last named deserves special commendation. We are not so certain that Mrs. Handy joins completely in this commendation since her work veered away from that of being a professional librarian towards that of being an expert in charge of membership detail.

The other committees also accomplished their work in fine fashion: the editorial and printing committee, the finance committee, etc. Speaking of the finance committee, we must express our appreciation to Mrs. Vivien K. Gilbert, C.P.A., for the excellent work she has carried on and for her willingness to assume the several roles of accountant, auditor, and bookkeeper in connection with the financial work.

As for the future, I would say that we can look forward with confidence and anticipation. The program should now include about three programs a year, among them this annual program tonight. We have already mentioned the publication program of this past year; there is an ambitious publication program ahead of us. I might say that we need adequate, consistent volunteer help. And as a last suggestion, I would state that somehow we must solve the problem of creating the appropriate public image of the Hawaiian Historical Society in this community. The annual budget is minuscule; the size of our entire operation is minuscule. And yet the importance of the Society, which far outreaches its actual physical size, is one which we should keep ever in the forefront of the public interest and view. Therefore, a publicity program of some fine, friendly proportions should be undertaken, in which this public image will gain in stature in the time to come.

Another problem that continues to be unsolved is the status of this Society as a state-wide agency. Discussion should be held to study the implications of statehood on our Society and the proper relationship to historical societies on other islands.

I would like to add a personal word, to say that I have enjoyed my work with the Hawaiian Historical Society for 1960. The people with whom I have

worked have been genuine professionals in the historical society business. They are devoted, they are skillful, and they are friendly in every sense of the word. The outstanding figure in the Society's year was the veteran devoted Willowdean Handy.

Respectfully submitted,
HAROLD W. KENT
President
Hawaiian Historical Society

REPORT OF THE AUDITOR

TO THE OFFICERS AND TRUSTEES OF
THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

In accordance with your request, I have examined the documentary evidence of transactions in 1960 for the Hawaiian Historical Society, and the assets and liabilities as of the calendar year-end. The Statement of Financial Condition at December 31, 1960, and the Statement of Income and expense for the year then ended, which were prepared by me from such data and from the books of account, are submitted herewith.

The year under review appears to have been most progressive for the Society in terms both of increasing financial support and of enlarging the membership. Special funds will now provide more than seven times the financial resources for program purposes than a year ago, and the membership appears to have more than doubled. It will be noted that net income for the year under review was \$638.20 as compared with a net loss for the prior year of \$589.21, indicating comparative gain of just over \$1,200. As the net income does not include receipts for Special Funds referred to above, the comparative gain is attributable to about \$2,000 more from membership dues with only about \$800 more in expenses incurred, including the expenses of the membership drive. The names of the contributors to the increases in Special Funds are set forth in Schedule 1 of this report.

It will also be noted that funds on deposit with First Federal Savings and Loan Association now amount to \$11,458.43. As such funds are insured up to \$10,000 only, it is recommended that the overage be given some other account designation.

Thank you for the privilege and pleasure of serving you, I remain

Yours very truly,
(MRS.) VIVIEN K. GILBERT, C.P.A.

Honolulu, Hawaii
January 14, 1961

EXHIBIT A

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL CONDITION

December 31, 1960

ASSETS

Current Assets:

Cash on hand and in checking account.....	\$ 4,895.75	
First National Bank of Hawaii savings.....	1,487.42	
First Federal Savings & Loan Association.....	11,458.43	\$17,841.60
Investments at market, 12/31/60.....		5,021.25
Books and pamphlets for resale.....		7,277.99
Total current assets.....		<u>\$30,140.84</u>

Capital Assets:

Library of books and pamphlets at cost, including purchases with Special Funds.....	\$ 8,473.23	
Pictures, photographs and maps.....	1,995.00	
Furniture and equipment, less depreciation.....	504.89	
Building (1/3 interest), less depreciation.....	6,400.00	17,373.12
TOTAL ASSETS.....		<u><u>\$47,513.96</u></u>

RESERVES AND CAPITAL

Restricted Reserves:

	12/31 59	Incr.	Decr.	12/31/60
Microfilming.....	\$1,247.04			\$ 1,247.04
M. Jones Fund.....	146.23		\$103.30	42.93
S. N. and M. Castle Fund..	487.30		103.51	383.79
W. R. Castle Book Fund....		\$4,000. 00		4,000.00*
Publications & Operations		2,710.00		2,710.00
Social Science Essays.....		6,000.00		6,000.00
	<u>\$1,880.57</u>	<u>\$12,710.00</u>	<u>\$206.81</u>	<u>\$14,383.76</u>

Capital:

Balance at 12/31/59.....	\$32,021.44	
Increase in 1960 from utilization of Special Funds, per above.....	206.81	
Increase in 1960 to greater market value of investments at 12/31/60.....	238.75	
Other increase: recognized asset.....	25.00	
	<u>\$32,492.00</u>	
Net income from operations in 1960.....	638.20	33,130.20
TOTAL RESERVES AND CAPITAL.....		<u><u>\$47,513.96</u></u>

*Primarily to pay for publication of the "Life of S. N. Castle" by W. N. Castle, the cost of which will be \$3,291.80, per billing received, with the \$708.20 balance going to operating funds of HHS.

EXHIBIT B
HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSE
12 months ending December 31, 1960

INCOME:

Membership dues:		
360 regular members.....	\$1,800.00	
67 contributing members.....	670.00	
8 sustaining members.....	200.00	
11 life members added.....	1,100.00	\$3,770.00
Contributions:		
Annie H. Parke Estate.....	\$ 317.49	
Dole Royalty.....	36.00	
Other.....	6.00	359.49
Dividends and interest.....		394.03
Sales: Books and Publications less estimated cost of sales.....		63.40
TOTAL INCOME.....		\$4,586.92

EXPENSE:

Printing annual report.....	\$ 706.27	
less allocation to membership drive expense.....	(239.70)	
cost of sales.....	(15.51)	
	451.06	
Membership drive expense including annual reports sent out to new members.....	452.19	
Librarian's salary and payroll tax expense.....	1,236.00	
Building maintenance.....	360.00	
Accounting and auditing.....	300.00	
Telephone expense.....	152.01	
Library and office supplies and expense.....	246.48	
Miscellaneous other charges, including annual depreciation on building, furniture and equipment.....	750.98	
TOTAL EXPENSES.....		\$3,948.72
NET INCOME (to Exhibit A).....		\$ 638.20

CONTRIBUTIONS TO SPECIAL FUNDS
12 months ending December 31, 1960

S. N. and M. Castle Foundation.....	\$5,000.00	
McInerny Foundation.....	2,500.00	
Juliet M. Atherton Trust.....	2,500.00	\$10,000.00
S. N. and M. Castle Foundation.....	\$ 500.00	
Juliette M. Atherton Trust.....	500.00	
Alexander and Baldwin, Ltd.....	250.00	
American Factors, Ltd.....	250.00	
Castle and Cooke, Ltd.....	250.00	
Hawaiian Electric Co., Ltd.....	250.00	
Hawaiian Telephone Co., Ltd.....	250.00	
Oahu Railway and Land Co., Ltd.....	250.00	
Foremost Dairies—Hawaii, Ltd.....	50.00	
Honolulu Gas Co., Ltd.....	50.00	
Von Hamm-Young Co., Ltd.....	50.00	
Central Pacific Bank.....	25.00	
Hawaiian Airlines, Ltd.....	25.00	
Community Planning, Inc.....	10.00	2,710.00
Total additions during year.....		\$12,710.00

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

Tons of printed material on Hawaii are erupting from the presses of the United States at such a rate that it would be a full time job to keep track of them and order them for the library. However, a great many of these items have come to us, freely or by gentle solicitation, some from the authors and some from publishers.

Among these are the following: "Here's Hawaii," by Bob Krauss; "The Polynesian Family System of Ka'u, Hawaii," by E. S. C. Handy and M. K. Pukui; "Claus Spreckels, Sugar King of Hawaii: the Interaction of an Entrepreneur with an Island Community," by Jacob Adler; "Mary Sia's Chinese Cook Book;" and "Dr. Judd, Friend of Hawaii," by G. P. Judd, IV.

In addition to the books are articles of note: "Hawaii, the Island State," by Jan Jabulka, written for the *Encyclopedia Britannica*; "History of Hawaiian Forestry," by Lester W. Bryan, a publication of the *Fifth World Forestry Congress*, August-September, 1960; "The Big Wave," by A. E. P. Wall, first printed in the *Hilo Tribune-Herald*; articles on an early Honolulu, William Harper Pease, by Karl Greene appearing in his *Hawaiian Shell News*; January-October, 1960; and Meiric K. Dutton's beautiful and meticulous Christmas brochure, "Hawaii's Great Seal and Coat of Arms."

A great many contemporary magazines running articles about Hawaii have sent us the pertinent numbers: *Steamboat Bill*, the journal of the Steamship Historical Society, Winter, 1959, contains "Steamships to Hawaii, 1854-1859," by John Haskell Kemble; *Ebony*, July 1959, "Negroes in Hawaii" by Hubert H. White; *Bulletin* 96 of the Railway and Locomotive Historical Society, May, 1957, an illustrated article on the Oahu Railway and Land Company, entitled "Pineapples, Sugar and War," by Gilbert H. Kneiss; *Pacific Railway Journal*, January, 1960, "Hawaiian Tramways," with illustrations; *The Spinning Wheel*, September, 1957, with an article on Hawaii's souvenir spoon by Mrs. H. Ivan Rainwater.

This is but a sampling of the interesting material which we have received in 1960 from other states. We must add to this list the many handsome local publications of government and commercial offices, which keep us up to date with the current island scene.

We have also received material that is not newly printed. Several donors should be thanked. Mr. Riley Allen gave us six books, all of which involve Hawaii in relations with other parts of the Pacific—the Philippines, Japan, and Australia. Mrs. J. F. G. Stokes turned over to us a quantity of notes, papers, publications of her late husband, as well as some of his pamphlets and books which are pertinent to our collections. Mr. and Mrs. Gordon Smith

gave us notes, papers and letters of W. D. Alexander. The Hawaiian Mission Children's Library added to our duplicates which are beginning to form a nucleus of a possible lending library for scholars who are unable to come to our reading room. Dr. Willard Wilson sent us "Abstracts from a Journal kept aboard the Ship Sharon of Fairhaven on a whaling voyage in the South Pacific, 1841-1845."

Our gift collection is richer this year by 19 books, 11 pamphlets, 11 magazines, 6 articles and 2 newspapers. A reproduction in color of Hawaii's Great Seal from the Archives of Hawaii, a reproduction of a painting by James Gay Sawkins done at Kona in 1852, sent us by an art dealer, Robert Carlen of Philadelphia, and several fine photographs of sailing ships sent us by Captain Fred K. Klebingat, complete the pictorial acquisitions.

We have acquired by purchase, through the book fund donated by the S. N. and Mary Castle Foundation, six volumes of background and contiguous Pacific history covering events in the island world and on the west coast of the United States. They are "The McLoughlin Empire and its Rulers," by Burt Brown Barker; "Sir Francis Drake's Voyage Around the World," by Henry R. Wagner; "Sir Joseph Banks," by Hector Charles Cameron; "Surveyor of the Seas: The Life and Voyages of Captain George Vancouver," by Bern Anderson; "The Eventful History of the Mutiny and Piratical Seizure of H.M.S. Bounty," by Sir John Barrow; and "L'Océan Pacifique . . . (1815-1848)" by Léonce Jore.

Among the items purchased by the Castle fund, which are exclusively about Hawaii, should be mentioned "The Hawaiian Revolution, 1893-1894," by William Adam Russ, Jr., a work which has been reviewed by Dr. Charles H. Hunter in the Pacific Northwest Quarterly.

A unique book purchased in 1960 in memory of Maude Jones is George Barrell's "Notes of Voyages and Incidents Connected Therewith In A Career Of Thirty Years At Sea . . ." This is an edition of 1890 printed for his family and autographed by the author, an old man then, who had sailed the Pacific in the early nineteenth century. He had been a member of the crew of the brig *Kamehameha*, ordered for Kamehameha II, which reached the islands after the King had died in England in 1825. Our chief interest centers in his description of this vessel and its history, in his account of Hawaiians as seamen, and in his appraisal of Honolulu at that date.

Aid in research is one of the most interesting features of library functions. During 1960 we received requests from 21 schools in 18 states for "all the material you have on your state." Since this seems not too big an order for the Hawaii Visitors Bureau to handle, we relayed these queries to them.

Our own help was given to correspondents from twelve states—thirty-two of them. Biographies were most in demand. John Young is always popular;

James Campbell and his family was a new item; Opukahaia and his associates cropped up again; several women interested our writers—Anna Rice Cooke, Persis Goodale Thurston Taylor; the Hawaiian women on stamps of the Kingdom. Several new personalities were inquired about: James Gay Sawkins, landscape and portrait painter who was here in 1852; Louis Christian Mullgardt, an architect of later years; Benjamin D. Jones, also an architect, who was said to have built "a stone Church" and other buildings, 1843–1862. Concrete information on churches, forts, monuments, plantations, ships and population figures were easier to handle than such general topics as the migration of the original people to Hawaii, the first settlement in the islands, the origin of the school system in Hawaii, and the composition of Hawaii's people.

As you see, Hawaii is more than ever in the news, and the Hawaiian Historical Society is often expected to give it an authoritative stamp.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLOWDEAN C. HANDY

Librarian

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OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Through the kindness of the author, the Society is privileged to offer:

Na Himeni Hawaii, by Ethel M. Damon, for \$1.00.

Sanford Ballard Dole and His Hawaii, by Ethel Damon (out of print)—for \$5.00 to members, \$6.00 to non-members.

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